DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 264 458 CG 018 686

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TITLE Alcohol and Masculinity: A Review and Reformulaton of the Sex Role, Dependency, and Power Theories of Alcoholism.
PUB DATE 20 Jul 84
NOTE 78p.
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070) -- Viewpoints (120)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adolescent Development; *Adult Development; *Alcoholism; Developmental Stages; Drinking; *Individual Power; *Males; *Sex Role; Social Behavior; *Theories
IDENTIFIERS *Dependency (Personality); *Masculinity

ABSTRACT

This review examines three theories of alcohol abuse by American males: (1) the sex role theory which states that men drink heavily because American culture accepts and encourages that activity in males; (2) the dependency theory, which interprets drinking as a means by which men secretly gratify their dependency needs while manifesting an outward, hypermasculine facade; and (3) the power theory, which proposes that men drink to achieve an internal experience of themselves as dominant and potent. By reviewing the literature on the three theories and reformulating them into one framework, this paper attempts to develop a unified masculinity model of alcohol abuse. Its basic premise is the hypothesis that alcohol abuse stems from a developmental arrest in the formation of adolescent masculinity. The paper also asserts that treatment is difficult since alcohol abuse is tied to one's masculinity and alcoholics are fixated in adolescence. It suggests helping these men grow into adult behavior and develop a new perception of manliness. (Nineteen pages of references are given.) (ABB)

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ALCOHOL AND MASCULINITY: A REVIEW AND REFORMULATION OF THE SEX ROLE, DEPENDENCY, AND POWER THEORIES OF ALCOHOLISM

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Alcohol and Masculinity: A Review and Reformulation of the Sex Role, Dependency, and Power Theories of Alcoholism

Alcohol abuse is a serious problem for the American male, and it may be his most common one. Recent drinking surveys have revealed that 18% of men are "problem drinkers" (Ferrence, 1980), and as many as 41% have some symptoms of psychological "dependency" on alcohol (Cahalan, 1976; Liban & Smart, 1980). At least 10% of men become full-fledged "alcoholics" at some point in their lifetime (Weissman et al, 1980). These are among the highest percentages of psychiatric disorders in the male population.

Abusive drinking is a male problem in another sense as well -- men are four times more likely to be heavy or alcoholic drinkers than are women (Ferrence, 1980), a sex ratio which has existed for at least the last century (Ferrence, 1980; Keller & Efron, 1955).

Why is it that men abuse alcohol in such proportions? One speculation which has been tossed around for decades, centuries actually, is that excessive drinking is associated with masculinity. Seneca (in Jellineck, 1977) was probably the first to suggest such a connection when he observed that the Roman male bravado in "carrying one's liquor" contributed to overconsumption.

In the contemporary alcohol literature, three formal theories of alcoholism have been introduced in which masculinity issues have been identified as contributing to men's drinking. The three theories are (1) the Sex Role Theory, which stated that men drink heavily because our culture accepts and encourages that activity in males. (2) the Dependency Theory, which interpreted drinking as a means by which men secretly gratify their dependency needs while

manifesting an outward, hypermasculine facade, and (3) the Power Theory, which proposed that men drink to achieve an internal experience of themselves as dominant and potent.

While each of these theories recognized masculinity concerns as associated with drinking, they labeled the important factors which underly drinking as something slightly different than masculinity per se. This paper attempts to develop a unified masculinity model of alcohol abuse. First it reviews in detail the existing literature pertaining to each of the three theories and then reformulates them into one overall framework for viewing masculinity and alcohol abuse. Its basic premise is that a major reason that men abuse alcohol is to bolster a faulty sense of their masculinity. More specifically, alcohol abuse is hypothesized to stem from a developmental arrest in the formation of adolescent masculinity.

Before reviewing the theories, a few preliminary explanations are needed. First, the literature reviewed here is the theory and research which has touched upon alcohol and masculinity in some manner. This paper is not intended to be a review of the literature on psychological or personality factors in alcoholism. Barnes (1979), Barry (1974), and Williams (1976) have done thorough summaries in these areas.

Second is that the categories of "heavy drinker," "problem drinker," "alcohol abuser," and "alcoholic" are not distinguished from one another. They are treated equivalently because the articles and books reviewed used different target populations and it was the only way to summarize related pieces of researc

research. However, I am mindful that heavy drinkers and alcoholics do not

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always demonstrate identical characteristics (e.g. in Mulford & Miller, 1960b).

Third, the paper examines the alcohol use of men only; consideration of women's drinking is omitted. While undoubtably men and women share some similarities in the factors which affect their drinking, the numbers, patterns, and expectations for men and women are different enough to conceptualize them as somewhat distinct phenomena. The overwhelming magnitude of male drinking begs for attention to the male aspects of it.

Fourth, the men addressed in this paper are the average, American males. I recognize that there are differences in alcohol use among subcultures within the United States (e.g. Irish and Jewish cultures) which get washed out in the examination of an entire nation. However, the similarities among subcultures are far more prevalent than the differences in regard to the maleness of drinking (Leland, 1984). In addition the focus on the American public as the population of interest is in keeping with the preponderance of studies reviewed.

Fifth, a unified masculinity model does not presuppose that it is an all-encompassing explanation for men's drinking. Alcoholism has many causes -- biological, social, and psychological. Not all alcoholics have underlying masculinity problems nor do all males with masculinity issues develop drinking problems. What this paper does suggest is that masculinity is a very significant factor in men's alcoholism, a dynamic which largely has not been identified as such.

Last, since so much of this paper is organized around the concept of

masculinity, it is important to elucidate just what is meant by the term. Masculinity refers to two interrelated concepts. The first is what might be called overt masculinity. This includes the outward expressions common to males in a given culture, the behaviors and attitudes that men exhibit more than women do. At a societal level, we call this the male sex role.

Covert masculinity, by contrast, is the internal experience that a man has of himself. A boy/man's self-regard and sense of himself is founded on how masculine he feels. To experience one's identity is to sense one's maleness, it is the core organization (Colby, 1959).

This subjective experience is part conscious and part unconscious, and thus is often difficult to operationalize. Nonetheless, the existence of an inner sense of one's masculinity is not in question. While there has been some disagreement as to the causes of boys'/mens' feelings of male inadequacy (Pleck, 1981) there is shared agreement that men carry with them a sense of their masculinity which is central to their identity.

How a male feels about his masculinity is partially determined by how he measures himself against the prevailing cultural male role. However, there are also familial and developmental influences on covert masculinity, a point discussed in much greater detail later in the Reformulation section.

The term "masculinity" and "male sex role" are those used in this paper. While recent writers (O'Neil, 1982; Solomon, 1982) have called for the use of the more precise labels of "gender identity" and "gender role", the former terms reflect the common usage in the literature and hence are the ones adopted here.

SEX ROLE THEORY

The sex role theory of drinking proposes that men abuse alcohol because drinking and heavy drinking are prominent aspects of the cultural male role. Traditional sex roles influence men's drinking in three predominant ways. First, the cultural image and meaning ascribed to drinking is that is a manly activity. The act of drinking provides a means by which men can symbolically demonstrate their masculinity to others and themselves. Second, heavy drinking is looked upon as unconventional, deviant and risky, and facilitates fearless and aggressive behavior, all of which are more accepted in men. Women by contrast are disapproved of for such behaviors. Third, sex roles create a greater number of opportunities for men to drink and make drinking a way for men to socialize.

For the most part, the sex role theory of male alcohol abuse has lacked cohesion among researchers and writers in the area. Few authors have cross-referenced or built upon one anothers' work (the Wilsnacks, 1976, 1978, 1980 are the one exception) and little has been done to formulate a coherent theory. Yet during the past twenty years a vast body of research has appeared whose findings illustrate numerous subtle and not so subtle connections between the male sex role and drinking. Taken together, they make a compelling theoretical statement. It is the intention of this section to present in an organized fashion a summary of all those studies and surveys which have revealed the interrelatedness between the traditional sex roles and men's alcohol abuse.

To begin with, sheer numbers suggest that drinking is part of the male sex role. More men drink. Regional and national surveys have shown that in any given year, approximately 76% of all adult men drink, while only 59% of

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women do so (Cahalan et al, 1969, Clark & Midanik, 1982; Gomberg, 1979; Johnson, 1982; Mulford, 1964; Mulford & Miller, 1963; Room & Beck, 1974). Men drink more quantity. Per person, and on any given occasion, men consume significantly more alcohol than women. even controlling for differences in body weight. All told, they order nearly 70% of the alcohol that is consumed, notably the beer (82% of it) and distilled spirits (57%), the "male" alcohols (Argeriou, 1965; Engs, 1977; Gomberg, 1979; Harford, 1978; Harford & Gerstel, 1981; Rimmer et al, 1971; Wanberg & Knapp, 1970; Wilsnack and Wilsnack, 1978). Men drink and are intoxicated approximately twice as often as women (Cahalan, 1970; Harford & Gerstel, 1981; Jessor et al, 1968; Wilsnack & Wilsnack, 1978). And in keeping with the above, there are approximately four times as many male heavy drinkers, problem drinkers and alcoholics as women (Argeriou, 1975; Beckman, 1975; Boscarino, 1980; Cahalan, 1978; Cahill & Volicer, 1981; Clark & Midanik, 1982; Cohen, 1981; Engs, 1977; Ferrence, 1980; Gomberg, 1979; Horn & Wanberg, 1973 Johnson, 1982; Keller & Efron, 1955; Knupfer, 1967; Knupfer & Room 1964; Leland, 1982; Liban & Smart, 1980; Lindbeck, 1972; Lisansky, 1957; Maxwell, 1952; Mulford, 1964; Mulford & Miller, 1960a, 1960b; Robins & Smith, 1980; Room & Beck, 1974; Schuckit & Morrisey, 1976; Weissman et al, 1980; Volicer et al, 1981). These sex differences occur across virtually all socioeconomic strata, ethnic groups, and age levels (Knupfer & Room, 1964; Mulford & Miller, 1960; Leland, 1984; Clark & Midanik, 1982; Wilsnack & Wilsnack, 1978. In short, drinking is something that males do much more than females do, a fact which in and of itself signifies that drinking is assigned as a man's activity.

The maleness of drinking is clearly evident when we look at teenage drinking. Boys start drinking much sooner. They have their first drink three years before girls do (Beckman, 1978; Bromet & Moos, 1976; Cahalan, 1969; Johnson,

1982; Gomberg, 1979; Horn & Wanberg, 1973; Lisansky, 1957; Rimmer et al, 1971, 1972; Wanberg & Knapp, 1970), their first intoxication two years earlier (Bromet & Moos, 1976; Fromme & Samson, 1983; Horn & Wanberg, 1973), and if they go on to regular or alcoholic drinking, they do that three years earlier as well (Beckman, 1978; Johnson, 1982; Lisansky, 1957; Mulford, 1977; Rathod & Thomson, 1971; Rimmer et al, 1971; Rimmer et al, 1972; Winokur & Clayton, 1968). And despite the trend during the past 20 years towards first intoxication occurring at younger and younger ages, boys continue to hold a two year lead over girls (Fromme & Samson, 1983). Overall, boys begin earlier, and in greater numbers (Zucker & Harford, 1983) because from adolescence on, drinking is a prime expression of the traditional male sex role.

Teenage alcohol use exemplifies another crucial connection between drinking and masculinity — drinking with other males is a sanctioned means of being manly with them. First drinking experiences of girls are most likely to be at home with their families, while boys' first drinking, first intoxication, and first regular drinking experiences are most likely to be with their peers away from home (Fromme & Samson, 1983; Maddox & McCall, 1964; Ullman, 1953, 1957; Waller & Lorch, 1977. A boy's first drinking experience is of special significance, for symbolically it represents a rite of passage into manhood (Blum, 1966; Jellineck, 1977; Maddox, 1962; Maddox & McCall, 1964).[1]

These male patterns of early drinking are evident throughout adulthood. Men drink more frequently with same-sex friends in public places (e.g. bars) than do women (Bromet & Moos, 1976; Cahalan et al, 1969; Gomberg, 1976; Harford, 1978; Horn & Wanberg, 1973; Leland, 1982; Wanberg & Knapp, 1970). In one graphic example of this, Clark (1964) reported that of married drinkers who ever went to a bar, 6% of the women most often attended without their husbands,

while 56% of the men most often went without their wives. Drinking with the guys is a male activity, and a common one at that. Annual patronage at drinking establishments is greater than all other forms of commercial recreation (e.g. movie theatres, baseball games) combined (Clinard, 1962).

Not only is drinking with other men an expresssion of masculinity, so is drinking at male activities. Glynn et al (1983) found that drinking at what they called "Masculine Activities" (e.g. with same sex friends, in bars, at athletic events) was correlated with the incidence of drinking problems. Conversely, drinking in "Social Settings" (e.g. in mixed sex company, with women, at restaurants) was negatively correlated; the more men tended to drink in these settings, the less likely that they drank problematically. Alcohol and male events are inexorably linked, a pairing which has two mutually reinforcing effects. It furthers the male image of alcohol and it makes the men engaged in the activity seem even more manly.[2]

When drinking with other men and/or at male activities, consuming more alcohol signifies greater masculinity. A laboratory study by Lied and Marlatt (1979) provided evidence of the existence of such a social equation among men. The researchers assessed the effect that a heavy or light drinking model had on the amount of alcohol consumed by college subjects. They found that men who had a prior history of heavy drinking consumed twice as much alcohol when they were alongside a heavy drinking model than when they were next to a light drinking model. Women subjects were not so influenced by how much the model was drinking. As the authors noted, the findings that male heavy drinkers increased their consumption around heavy drinking models suggested that these men needed to show equal drinking prowess to the masculine drinker.

Bruun's (1959) study of groups of Finnish men who regularly drank together included similar findings. Analyses of the comments and interactions among group members revealed clearly that the quantity of alcohol consumed was equated with manliness -- the more one drank (without getting overtly drunk) the more one was "manly."

All these examples and studies underscore two aspects of how the consumption of alcohol is influenced by sex roles. Drinking provides socializing men with an accepted manner of being male together. More importantly, drinking is a means of symbolically demonstrating one's manliness to oneself and others.

While drinking in any amount is manly, it is heavy drinking that is particularly so. Consuming large quantities of alcohol is one of the chief expressions of masculinity in our culture. It is seen as such in part because heavy drinking exemplifies other aspects of the male role as well -- notably risk-taking behavior, unconventionality, denial of social obligations, and deviance. Nathanson's (1977) analysis of health behavior revealed that heavy drinking is part of a larger pattern in which men are more likely than women to engage in behavior (such as driving cars or taking illegal drugs) which entail known health risks. Wilsnack and Wilsnack's (1978,1980) study of adolescent drinking reported that boys' rejection of social obligations, an attitude considered part of the traditional male sex role, was the factor most strongly related to drinking and to problem drinking. The authors interpreted this finding as indicating that "many adolescent boys, in trying to define their own sex roles, veer toward rejecting social obligations because this rejection seems to be a way to demonstrate their masculinity. This denial of obligations may facilitate, encourage and gain support from heavy drinking and symptomatic drinking" (p. 1129).

Clark (1964) believed that the sex differences in drinking can be explained by the differing expectations on men and women to be conventional and conservative in matters relating to propriety. In his national survey, women -- as well as elders and married persons -- who are the ones expected to be most conventional were the lighter drinkers. Men, youth and singles, who are granted the most leeway to act unconventionally, drank most heavily and were more likely to admit enjoyment of getting drunk. Jessor et al's (1968) study of social factors which influence the use of alcohol reached a parallel conclusion: women drink less because of greater societal prohibitions on deviant behavior for them. And, as other authors have noted, if women do deviate and act unconventionally by drinking heavily, they are subject to far more adverse social consequences and negative sanctions than are men (Barry, 1968; Clark & Midanik, 1982; Curlee, 1967; Gomberg, 1979; Johnson & Garzon, 1978; Knupfer & Room 1964; Knupfer, 1967; Lawrence & Maxwell, 1962; Leland, 1982; Lisansky, 1957); Wilsnack & Wilsnack, 1978; . Society frowns on heavy drinking in women primarily because alcohol is thought to impair the effectiveness of being nurturant/maternal and to loosen sexual inhibition (Gomberg, 1982).[3]

In a similar vein, heavy drinking is linked to masculinity because alcohol facilitates the expression of other traditionally male behaviors. Alcohol decreases fears and inhibitions, and increases verbal and behavioral aggression, behaviors equated in Western culture as a mark of virility. By contrast, as Wurmer (1978) has observed, the use of opium and cannabis, which induce a state of peaceful harmony and passivity, are derogated.

Traditional sex roles also influence drinking in their allowing more opportunities for men to drink. A national survey by Cahalan et al (1969)

found that although women met socially with people from the neighborhood at least as often as did men, only half as many women as men reported that drinks were served on those occasions. Also, fewer women than men reported drinks being served when they met with close friends, people from work or church people. Harford's (1978) study of drinking contexts found that men shared all the situations that women had to drink, plus had an additional array of occasions, places, times, and circumstances not available to women. Simply put, drinking is integrated into a fuller range of activities and social settings for men than for women.

How is it that the traditional sex role connotation of drinking as masculine is transmitted among members of our culture? Social sanctions applied to drinkers shape attitudes. So do peoples' (unconscious) observations of how others behave. As such, drinking is seen as male when men consume more alcohol on more occasions with greater frequency in greater quantities with other men with more encouragement, etc.,etc. Sex roles easily perpetuate themselves in this manner.

Images portrayed in our media, our literature, and in our language also contribute strongly to the equation of drinking as masculine.[4] No where is this more evident than on Madison Avenue. The content of alcohol advertisements relies on images of masculinity, and these ads are placed in male magazines and television programs, all of which further the masculine image of alcohol.

The overreliance of alcohol advertisements on male themes and audiences was confirmed in an impressive study by Finn and Strickland (Finn and Strickland, 1982; Strickland, et al 1982). They analyzed 700 alcohol television

commercials which were aired in 1979-1980 and 3131 alcohol advertisements which appeared in 42 magazines in 1978. For both television and magazines, men were used as models considerably more often than were women (according to Gomberg (1976) alcohol advertisements never used to include women at all). These male models tended to be cast in one mold: the "macho" man (i.e. working men, ranch hands, amateur athletes, adventurous sportsmen and retired football players) who were doing something masculine. In television beer ads (which comprised 87% of all alcohol ads on television), the one basic theme of a group of men engaging in some form of work or play and then breaking for a beer was used in 54% of instances. Few other products depend so heavily on the image of masculinity.

The kinds of magazines and television programs where alcohol ads are placed further reflects the association of drinking to masculinity. Strickland et al (1982) found that Playboy was far and away the magazine carrying the most alcohol ads (30 per issue) and the general category of sex magazines for men contained the highest concentration of alcohol ads. Two separate studies (Breed & Defoe, 1979; Katzper, 1978) confirmed the same: while alcohol ads constituted about 7% of all magazine ads, in Playboy (ranked first) they comprised 22%, and the sex/male magazines were group which contained the highest percentages overall. On television, alcohol ads appear disproportionately frequently on sports programs (Cafiso, 1982). All these advertisements not only sell alcohol to male readers and viewers, they simultaneously enhance the masculine image of alcohol and the sex role appropriateness of men drinking.

American literature is another place in which drinking is portrayed as a male activity. Pfautz (1962) content analyzed the three best selling novels during

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two 5-year periods, 1900-1904 and 1946-1950. Alcohol was a common subject in all of the books. When drinking events and situations were described, males were involved 91% of the time, usually without the presence of females. By contrast, women were involved only 26% of the time, and usually in the company of men.

The lore and jargon surrounding drinking depicts the same masculine image. The act of drinking is masculine, and "taking it straight" is the highest form. "Real men" don't dilute hard liquor, even though the intoxicating effects of alcohol are the same, diluted or not. A sweetened drink is a "women's drink." Drinking without hesitation is really "drinking like a man." And "holding your liquor" is sine qua non to being a man. This last point, as Wursmer (1978) has noted, reflects a deep cultural bias regarding alcohol and drug use, in which tolerance is equated with masculinity and dependence with weakness and femininity.

The covert norms that govern how to perform the activity of drinking in a manly manner are strong (second perhaps only to fighting/soldiering). To drink like a man dictates what you drink (beer, hard liquor, unsweetened), how you drink it (quickly), how much you drink (tolerating and holding large quantities), and how you abstain (you can't. Bruun (1959) and Burns (1980) have shown that to be a fellow drinker means you cannot even consume at a slower pace than others.)

Summary

The sex role theory states that men drink because drinking is a prime expression of the male role. Drinking is not just male, i.e. something more common in men, it is also manly, a signal of masculinity. A boy's first drink

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symbolizes his achievement of manhood; subsequent drinks are means of being manly with others. From the initial drink on, drinking is a way of demonstrating and reaffirming one's masculinity.

It is heavy drinking in particular, that is reserved for males. Tolerance of large quantities of alcohol is a measure of masculinity and exemplifies an unconventional, deviant, risk-taking, attitude. These characteristics are accepted, if not expected, of men. By contrast, drinking heavily is distinctly unfeminine, and women are more apt to be censured for abandoning the female role by becoming intoxicated.

The sex role theory explains drinking as stemming from the transmission of and internalization of societal norms. Covert psychological conflicts (such as power or dependency conflicts) need not be presumed. It is sufficient to say that heavy drinking will occur in men merely because drinking per se is a basic enactment of the male role. Hence, as long as our culture encourages alcohol in men and equates it with masculinity, men will be the ones who use and abuse it. And though sex roles have undergone significant upheaval in the past two decades, the changes seem to have had only minimal impact in the area of drinking. Ferrence's (1980) recent review of rates of alcohol abuse revealed little movement towards gender convergence. The 4:1 male to female ratio has remained fairly constant since the turn of the Century.

Considered all together, the data which pertain to the sex role theory are rather compelling. Pervasive social norms, in and of themselves, can explain the bulk of male drinking. Yet the sex role theory runs into difficulty with respect to two key drinking issues. First, the theory has trouble accounting

for and chronic drinking. While moderate drinking may be encouraged in men, getting drunk, missing work or being irresponsible are hardly expected or sanctioned by the society. Our culture is an achievement-oriented one, not one which approves of men who stop contributing.

Second, and more importantly, the theory has little to say as to why only certain individuals drink problematically. The male sex role applies to all men, and as such, is thought to affect them fairly equally. Yet only 18% of adult men are problem drinkers, the remainder are not. Thus, while the theory discusses rates of drinking in the culture, it does not account for variations in drinking problems among men. It was just this issue that prompted the development of the dependency and power theories to explain what are the underlying, intropsychic reasons that certain men come to abuse alcohol.

DEPENDENCY THEORY

The dependency theory hypothesized that an underlying dependency conflict was the reason that some men become alcoholics. In this dependency argument, masculinity issues were identified as the primary cause of the conflict. Observing that alcoholic men commonly exhibit "hypermasculine" behaviors -- aggression, fearlessness, and separateness -- the dependency theorists hypothesized that these behaviors were a reaction formation against underlying dependency needs. Since dependency needs are regarded as unmasculine in our culture, alcoholics were believed to be forced into finding some covert means to satisfy these needs which does not call their masculinity into question. By drinking, alcoholics were thought to inwardly feel the warmth and comfort of alcohol while they outwardly present to the world a hypermasculine, counter-dependent persona.

The theory that dependency needs could explain alcoholic drinking is generally credited to McCord and McCord in their publication of The Origins of Alcoholism (1960). This monograph was based on a 21 year retrospective study of 255 nine year old boys. An abundance of data, much of it naturalistic observations, had been collected on these youths, and subsequently the data was analyzed to determine which family interaction patterns differentiated the boys who later became alcoholics from those who did not. Two of the findings formed the basis of the McCords' theory: (1) mothers of future alcoholics inconsistently responded to their sons' expressions of dependency, and (2) fathers of future alcoholics were poór male role models and were rejecting and punitive enough to be resented by their sons.

The McCords inferred from these findings that a mother who alternates between encouraging and rejecting a child's dependent activity would create in the child a heightened, persistent need for being dependent, even throughout

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adult life. They also believed that a boy who identifies with a father who has been unsuccessful will be confused about the male role, and that a rejecting father creates in his soon a poor self (male) identity. Hence, according to the McCords, a man who inwardly craves dependency, which is culturally disapproved of in men, and who also wants to feel accepted as masculine, is in a conflict. Drinking is hypothesized as a resolution to this conflict. The drinker manifests a facade of hypermasculinity which allows him to mask his more feminine desires and to see himself as manly. The warm glow felt when drinking satisfies the dependency cravings without exposing the dependency need.

The McCords' thesis was expanded subsequently by Barry and Bacon (Barry, 1968; 1974; 1976; Bacon, 1974; Bacon et al, 1965) who drew upon cross-cultural data to link drinking to dependency conflicts. Their studies were a significant amplification of the theory, for they more strongly emphasized the societal context in the development of dependency and masculinity conflicts, and hence in drinking.

Barry and Bacon surveyed 110 preliterate societies and found that drinking was higher in cultures where dependency was discouraged in childhood and adulthood. In particular, drinking was higher in cultures where there was low general indulgence towards infants, a high amount of crying during infancy (believed to occur if nuturance is inadequate), low duration of bodily contact during later stages of infancy, high pressure toward achievement in later childhood, and low emotional and instrumental dependence in adulthood.

Barry and Blane believed these findings corroborated that dependency conflicts lay at the root of alcoholism. Their hypothesis, similar to McCord and McCord (1960) was that certain cultural norms create conflicts in individuals for which drinking becomes the likely recourse. Cultures which discourage boys from expressing their desire for dependence and which allow mothers to provide

inconsistent nurturance will cause the boys in that culture to develop a dependency conflict. Even for the boys who survive childhood without conflicts, the culture creates dependency conflicts in them as adult men by regarding their (natural) need for dependency as weak and unmanly. Drinking is believed to reduce the conflict through its sedating effects, so that anxieties and cognitive distresses are dulled. It also enables the drinker to feel assertive and be social (i.e. dependent) with others.

These studies by the McCords and Barry and Bacon formed the basis for the dependency theory. They were well documented empirically and fully elaborated conceptually. To these, a number of other studies were added which examined covert and overt dependence in adolescent heavy drinkers and adult alcoholics. The McCords' (1960) original theory had hypothesized that alcoholics have a dependency conflict which is covert, and a number of studies have focused on this underlying conflict. Since covert dependency is thought to not be expressed in any conscious form, the measures used have attempted to detect unconscious needs.

Meer and Amon (1963) studied a group of primarily Skid Row alcoholic men on the Photos Preference Test which asked subjects to respond to photographs in terms of personal like or dislike. No control group was used for comparison. The alcoholics showed a preference for older people, particularly females, which the author speculated as reflecting a search for gratification from the symbolic mother and a yearning for a dependent role.

Witkin et al (1959) proposed that one manner in which covert intepersonal dependence was manifest was in field dependence. Field dependence refers to a perceptual oversusceptibility to visually merge an object with the field in which it sets.

Witkin et al (1959) and at least a half dozen other studies have verified that alcoholics tend to be more field dependent than other populations (see Barnes

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(1979) for a review). This body of research has suggested that field dependence precedes alcoholism, and also that it remains a stable characteristic even after years of sobriety. Barnes (1979) argued that the commonly reported finding that alcoholics give more whole and fewer detail responses than normals on the Roschach also indicates an undifferentiated perceptual mode of alcoholics. However, alcoholics' field dependence seems to be essentially a function of cognitive impairment secondary to chronic alcohol intake and attempts to link field dependence directly with scores on measures of interpersonal dependence have found little correlation between the two (Alexander and Gudeman, 1965; Goldstein et al., 1968; Rhodes and Yorioka, 1968). Evidence not withstanding, Blane and Chafetz (1971) used field dependence measures to test the McCords' (1960) reaction formation hypothesis. Using a sample of 16 year old delinquent boys, they contrasted scores on a field dependence instrument, the Rod and Frame Test, which they assumed to be a measure of covert psychological dependence with scores on the self-report Dependency Situation Test, which they considered to be a measure of manifest dependence. The study revealed that boys whose pattern of drinking was most severe scored most independently on the manifest dependency test and most field dependent on the covert test.

The same hypothesis was tested by Hurwitz and Lelos (1968). Employed Catholic male alcoholics were administered the MMPI, TAT, and Interpersonal Check List. No control group was used for comparison, nor were scores of the measurements included in the publication. The authors offered their own conclusion based on the test results: Alcoholics present to the world and to themselves the appearance of conventional behavior and interpersonal strength. Yet, underneath this image is a preconscious yearning for a passive, dependent role in life.

Blane and Chafetz's (1971) and Hurwitz and Lelos's (1968) finding that drinking

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is associated with overt independence has been reported often in the literature. For example, McCord and McCord's (1960) research revealed that adolescent boys who subsequently became alcoholics were bold, uninhibited, active, and self-assured. Jones (1968) and Cahalan (1976)found that problem drinkers were more undercontrolled, rebellious and impulsive than moderate drinkers. Problem drinkers in Williams (1970) college student study rated themselves as more autonomous and less dependent than non-problem drinkers. In fact, virtually all studies which have examined overt attitudes and behaviors of alcoholics and pre-alcoholics have observed an autonomous, non-dependent persona (see McClelland (1972) and Williams (1976) for comprehensive literature reviews). This point will be elaborated more fully later when aggressiveness in alcoholics is addressed.

Employing a very different line of reasoning, a number of dependency researchers have used direct, overt measures of psychological dependency to support the theory.

Hoffman (1970) administered the Personality Research Form to hospitalized male alcoholics. These subjects scored lower on needs for aggression, autonomy and dominance than the norms provided in the test manual, leading the author to hypothesize that the "low self-description given in these three scales reflects the expression of a strong dependency need" (p. 170).

Lemert (1962) attempted to demonstrate the existence of dependency in alcoholics as manifest in how they managed issues of marital decision making, income, and ties to relatives. In 27% of alcoholic marriages, the wives were "dominant", i.e., they made the major family decisions and disciplined the family. In 4% of the families, alcoholics were completely dependent economically on their wives, and in another 42% they were partially dependent on their wives or others to supplement their own income. Forty-three percent of the wives reported that their husbands had affectional ties to their mothers

and fathers. All of these findings were viewed by Lemert (1962) as indicating psychic dependency in male alcoholics, since the percentages were assumed to be higher than the general population. Unfortunately, Lemert did not include any general population control group for comparison. Besides, every single percentage that he considered to be "typical" of alcoholics occurred in less than 50% of them, which negated the contention that these behaviors were representative.

Blane and Barry (1973) reviewed 27 studies of birth order in alcoholics. They found that a disproportionate percentage of alcoholics were last-born siblings. The authors considered this finding to be evidence of increased dependency in these men. As the baby in the family they were likely have been pampered and reinforced for dependent behavior. Note, however, that their conclusion that alcoholics' heightened dependency needs are created by encouragement for childhood dependency is exactly the opposite of the McCords and Barry who believed dependency needs in alcoholics are created by parental ambivalence or negation of their children's dependent behavior.

Included among the advocates of the dependency theory of alcoholism are several writers who discussed their professional experiences rather than research. Blane (1968) in his lengthy book The Personality of the Alcoholic. Guises of Dependency viewed both the dependency avoidance and the dependency seeking manifested by alcoholics as examples of heightened dependency needs. Lisansky (1960) considered pre-alcoholics to be conflicted between dependence and independence; the deterioration into full-blown alcoholism was seen as a surrender to the dependency side of the conflict. For Lolli (1956), alcoholics hunger for the infant-mother interaction. Alcohol is linked to mother's milk which satisfies longings for physical warmth and pleasurable skin sensations which are equated with feeling reassured and secure. This collection of writings, and the studies cited above, argued that while alcoholics may

manifest a masculine appearance, they really have an underlying, primary need for dependency.

The McCords (1960) original thesis had hypothesized that a hypermasculine facade was sought in male alcoholics not just because of unacceptable dependency needs but also because of sex-role confusion. This position was, for the most part, a variation on a related concept which had its roots in earlier psychoanalytic writings -- the cross-sex identification or repressed homosexuality hypothesis. It stated that alcoholic men appear extremely masculine on the outside as a reaction formation against an inner unacceptable feminine identification or homosexual impulses (for overviews of this theory, see Blum, 1966; Gibbins and Walters, 1960; Hampton, 1952; Lorand, 1945). In an article first published in 1908, Abraham (1927) proposed that men turn to alcohol to suspend their repressed homosexuality and increase their sense of masculinity. Read (1920) and Weijl (1944) considered drinking episodes to be homosexual experiences, whereby men are freed up to be close and physical with other men. Wall (1936) viewed alcoholics as having a fundamentally weak heterosexual drive and underlying homosexual conflict. Knight (1937) argued that alcoholic drinking is an overcompensation for feelings of effeminancy, passivity and inferiority. Fenichel (1945) believed unconscious homosexuality to be a cause of alcoholism, and that drinking represented regression to an infantile level of oral gratification. And Levine (1955) wondered whether the lack of interest in heterosexual intercourse in alcoholics was an indication of feminine identification and latent homosexuality. All of these psychoanalytic writers relied on their impressions of patients that they had treated as evidence of their ideas.

Several studies have appeared in the literature which examined the cross-sex identification and homosexuality hypothesis. Wisotsky (1959) found that 26% of the incarcerated Skid Row alcoholics he tested first drew a female figure on

the Draw-A-Person Test. This percentage represented five time the norm of 5% of non-alcoholic men who first draw opposite sex figures. Laird (1962) later replicated these findings The assumption in these two studies was that a subject's opposite sex identity would be manifest by drawing an opposite sex person when given a choice to draw either sex.

A related test of sexual identity was used by Gibbins and Walters (1960) who asked subjects which pictures/symbols they were "attracted to". Pictures were either "masculine", i.e. more linear and upright, or "feminine", i.e., more curvilinear and enclosed. Alcoholic men, similar to a sample of homosexual men, tended to be more attracted to masculine symbols than were a sample of nonpsychiatric controls. Based on these results, the authors wondered whether alcoholics may have failed to identify firmly with either sex.

Machover et al (1959) compared alcoholic and nonalcoholic subjects' responses to the Rorschach and Machover Figure Drawing Test and found no difference between the two on homosexual trends. However, in a separate study by Machover and Puzzo (1959) in which alcoholic (but no control) subjects were administered a comprehensive battery of psychodiagnostic tests, the authors reported that a "majority of our subjects (had) a fuzziness of self-concept marked by uncertainties and confusions as to level of masculinity and sex role. The latter appeared in noteworthy signs of feminine identification and of homosexual latency" (p. 515).

Several studies have tested alcoholics from the angle of weakened same sex identity rather than actual cross-sex identification. Zucker (1968) found that heavy drinking high school boys, moreso than light drinking ones, scored higher on a test of manifest masculinity (the Gough Femininity Scale) and lower on a test of covert masculine identity (the Franck Drawing Completion Test). However, Blane and Chafetz's (1971) study of delinquent boys found drinking history to be unrelated to scores on these two measurements.

Parker (1959, 1969) used an attitude instrument questionnaire to measure subjects' masculine identification. In his study, a sample of inpatient alcoholic men had higher manifest masculinity and lower latent masculinity than a control group of moderate drinkers. He conjectured that alcoholics develop an inadequate masculine identity because of strong female and weak male influences in their early home life. Consequently, a tension would arise between feeling insufficient in their own masculinity and an expectation of performing the male role. The excessive use of alcohol was seen as a means to gain relief from this anxiety.

A study of birth order of alcoholics by Blane and Barry (1975) gave dubious support to Parker's (1969) hypothesis about the origins of cross-sex identification. They found their sample of alcoholics were disproportionately likely to have a sister two siblings older than themselves. In a stretch of logic, the authors suggested that an older sibling in that specific birth order position is the one that children use most for identification, hence when it is a female it "may be an important influence in the development of a cross-sex or weak same sex identity" (p. 1405).

Summary

In hypothesizing how it is that some men come to abuse alcohol, the dependency theory presumed that masculinity issues were involved in two key ways: (1) alcoholic men were hypothesized to have heightened dependency needs. In a culture such as ours, adult men are stigmatized as unmanly if they express their dependence needs directly. Consequently, they are forced to seek alternative means to satisfy their dependency needs. Drinking is a socially accepted expression of masculine behavior which concurrently allows dependency needs to be secretly gratified without the drinkers' or others' conscious

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awareness. (2) These men also were believed to feel unmanly. Their more feminine needs for nuturance and their poor masculine identification were thought to compel them to seek personal reassurance of their own masculinity. Drinking, with its public image of manliness, its facilitation of hypermasculine activities and its ability to sedate unsettling feelings (feelings which are unmanly to have), allows men to view themselves and to present themselves to the world as very masculine.

The evidence to support these theoretical positions has been quite uneven. There is little doubt that alcoholics and pre-alcoholics exhibit a hypermasculine persona. Study after study has confirmed that aggression, impulsivity, action, and antisocial behavior is common to this population. There has been ample support for the contention that alcoholics and pre-alcoholics have a weakened male identity. However, the evidence that alcoholics and pre-alcoholics have heightened dependency needs has been inconclusive.

Let us first address this last point. In all the studies which attempted to measure directly the presence of dependency needs, no correlation has been found between it and alcoholism. This result has been evident for measures of pre-alcoholic children (oral behaviors in McCord and McCord, (1960)), for measures of college problem drinkers (security statements in sentence completions in Williams (1976)), for measures of adult drinkers (dependency themes in TAT's in McClelland (1972), or for measures of entire cultures (dependency themes in folk tales in McClelland et al, (1972)). In brief, when researchers have looked for direct evidence of dependency in alcoholic populations they have come up empty.

Instead, the existence of dependency needs has been claimed by inference. Dependency has been presumed to be present in many instances: if as children their mothers reacted ambivalently toward them (McCord and McCord, 1960) or

consistently rejected their dependency strivings (Bacon et al, 1965) or encouraged those strivings (Blane and Barry, 1973); if they were the youngest in their family (Blane and Barry, 1973) or had a sister two siblings older (Blane and Barry, 1975); if their perceptual style was field dependent (Witkin et al, 1959; Blane and Chafetz, 1971); if they relied on their wives to supplement their income (Lemert, 1962) or if they entirely stopped providing for their family in the adult role (Lisansky, 1960).

A list such as this has two basic problems. First, as has been noted already, all of the measures are indirect, all guess that a heightened dependency is present. But an underlying need for dependency is only one of a number of plausible explanations of these conditions. Bacon (1974) herself raised the possibility that perhaps the salient operating dimension was "affiliative-egoistic", not dependency. McClelland (1972) interpreted the data as consistent with the notion that alcoholics have heightened needs to feel powerful. And give that unnuturing, harsh childhoods have been shown to be detrimental to the development of a positive masculine identity (Biller and Borstelmann, 1967), it is also conceivable to hypothesize the presence of masculinity concerns.

The second problem with the list of indirect measures is that it is fraught with inconsistencies and contradictions. In different studies, dependency needs are assumed to be created by either rejecting (Bacon et al, 1965; Barry, 1976) ambivalent (McCord and McCord 1960) or nuturant (Blane and Barry, 1973) mothers. Covert dependency in alcoholics has been thought to exist if outwardly they are (Hoffman, 1970; Hurwitz and Lelos, 1968); Lemert, 1962; Lisansky, 1960) or are not overtly dependent (Blane, 1968; McCord and McCord, 1960). And as the list above indicates, different writers use the term "dependence" to allude to vastly different concepts. In short, the evidence for an underlying dependency has been inconclusive.

By contrast, a counter-dependent, hypermasculine facade has been well documented, and really has never been a point of contention. Theories of alcoholism differ only on its meaning, not its occurrance. Studies have revealed consistently that pre-alcoholics and alcoholics are aggressive, rebellious, antisocial, and impulsive. This point will be addressed more fully in later sections of this paper.

The proposition that alcoholics have a weakened male identity seems to be on somewhat solid footing. The early theoretical conjecture that alcoholics are latent homosexuals or are female-identified has not been empirically verified, however, the less extreme interpretation that these men have a faulty sense of their (male) identity has been fairly well supported (Blane and Barry, 1975). We will return to this point later on as well in later sections of this paper. Thus, ironically, the arguments in which dependency theorists were probably on firmest ground are in the areas least resembling dependency. They of course took this as evidence of inner, unacceptable dependency needs being outwardly expressed in a form -- a masculine facade -- which bears a reaction formation against dependency strivings. However, it is much more parsimonious to explain this facade in terms of masculine identity concerns, a thesis which is expounded later in this paper.

POWER THEORY

An an alternative to the dependency theory, McClelland et al (1972a) introduced the power theory of alcoholism. This theory too hinged on masculinity concerns in male drinkers, but from a different angle.. It assumed that in our culture, as in many others, males need to experience themselves as powerful. Abusive drinking was conceptualized as occurring in men who feel relatively powerless

in their environment and who seek to attain or regain a feeling of power. When drinking heavily, they have an experience of strength and domination over others, i.e., a sense of "personalized power ." According to the theory, satisfaction of their power concern does not necessarily require behavioral proof of their power; merely thinking they are powerful may provide an internal sensation of dominance over their environment. As such, the theory focused less on outward manifestations of masculinity and more on internal feelings of it .

McClelland et al (1972a) also hypothesized why some men drink moderately and others more heavily. Those who drink moderately were thought to seek a feeling of power, but in a more socialized, altruistic form. Excessive drinkers seek a sense of aggressively dominating and vanquishing others.

The power theory considered cultural proscriptions of masculinity to contribute to alcohol abuse. It hypothesized that societies for whom independence and achievement in men is encouraged create male power concerns which are resolved through drinking.

To assess the changes in the internal experiences of drinkers, McClelland et al (1972a) turned to measures of fantasy production, designed to detect unconscious needs and thought processes. In one series of studies (Kalin, 1972a; Kalin et al, 1972; McClelland & Wilsnack, 1972) they held parties for undergraduates and graduate male students and served alcoholic beverages at half the parties. Thematic Apperception Tests (TATS) were obtained from the subjects before, during and immediately after drinking. The studies revealed that the content of TATs changed after several drinks -- subjects' stories were more physically and sexually aggressive and less fearful or inhibited. The authors proposed that men drink in order to experience these powerful feelings. In another series of studies (McClelland and Davis, 1972; McClelland et al, 1972c) working class middle aged men were studied in a similarly designed

experiment. TATs were obtained before and after drinking at a local bar. Here though, the authors were interested in discriminating what type of man would drink the most. Their data revealed that the heaviest drinkers were the ones who were also the most concerned with personalized power. After drinking, these men showed an even greater tendency to perceive relationships in personalized terms, i.e., where one must dominate others in order to survive or extend his influence. The results were particularly evident for those men whose TATs showed low levels of restraint and inhibition.

The third series of studies (McClelland et al, 1972b; Wanner, 1972) explored whether what was apparent for an individual's unconscious reasons for drinking might also be true for an entire society — i.e., whether power concerns embedded in a society would lead to drinking. To measure unconscious motivations at a societal level, the themes and concepts of folk tales (i.e. collective fantasies) of the culture were analyzed. Fourteen tales were coded from each of 44 societies. The concepts which were significantly correlated with heavier drinking societies were, in order, "oral body part," "hunt," "eating," "change of state," "entering implements," and "sex." The concepts significantly negatively correlated with heavier drinking societies were "fear," "old and dead," "activity inhibition," "eating markers," "anger," and "title." The authors interpreted these findings as consistent with their general hypothesis that power related concerns (as manifest in collective fantasies) lead to heavier drinking. However, as can be seen from a glance at these two sets of correlations, forcing the findings into their general power theory required a considerable stretch of reason and logic.

The authors provided additional argument for their theory. They cited the physiological effects of alcohol consumption that might well make a man feel stronger, at least initially. In small doses, alcohol stimulates the secretion of adrenalin, it serves to dilate blood vessels giving a feeling of warmth, it

is a quick source of energy, and it dulls pain and relieves aches. The authors believed that these diffuse sensations of increased strength lead to fantasies of greater power.

Further support for the power theory has come from replications of McClelland et al's (1972a) work and other related research. One group of studies looked at internal changes in men under the influence. Most of these studies used the TAT to assess internal states.

Cutter et al (1973) replicated Kalin's (1972) study with a sample of hospitalized alcoholics and found that TAT scores of need for power in general and need for personalized and social power in particular all increased after two doses of bourbon whiskey. However, in their study, Cutter et al (1973) found inhibition scores, to be more correlated with drinking that were power scores.

Boyatzis (1976) replicated McClelland and Davis's (1972) bar study in a laboratory setting and reported that subjects whose sober TATs indicated a high need for power were the ones who drank the most. These men also described themselves as the most powerless in their lives.

Scoufis and Walker (1982) also replicated McClelland and Davis's (1972) bar study, and added two additional features: a second measurement of power and subjects with heavier drinking histories. McClelland and Davis's (1972) categorization of a "heavy drinker" had included men who took as few as six drinks a week. Scoufis and Walker (1982) found that heavier drinking histories were correlated with a higher need for power on TAT scores, and also with the Personality Research Form scale for aggression.

In a study of Finnish men by Takala et al (1957), sober and intoxicated men completed two projective measures which required them to produce stories from presented pictures. On the Rosenweig Picture Frustration Test, intoxicated subjects' responses were more extropunative. On the Picture Test, intoxication

was associated with a greater number of aggressive and coarse sexual comments. References to dominance did not differ between sober and intoxicated states.

McGuire et al (1966) compared fantasies of four intoxicated alcoholic and four intoxicated non-alcoholic men, obtained via individual interviews. The alcoholic men, but not the non-alcoholics, told numerous stories about their increased sexual power and manliness.

Partington (1970) assessed the changes that subjects recalled having occurred when intoxicated by asking them to evaluate how they saw themselves when they were "sober" and "high." Alcoholics, but not non-alcoholic subjects, judged their high self to be relatively more dominant than their sober self.

Another group of studies focused on the character of the sober alcoholic. Russell and Mahrabrian (1975) cited seven studies in which sober alcoholic subjects scored higher on personality scales of submission than normal adults. Klebanoff (1947) reported that alcoholics' themes of domination and aggression occurred less frequently than in a comparison group of "well-adjusted" normal male subjects. Knehr et al (1953), however, found non-alcoholic hospitalized psychiatric patients' TAT themes of submission to be even more numerous than alcoholic subjects.

On the whole, this wide collection of studies have suggested that issues of power and domination are salient to alcoholics. Power related images increase under the influence of alcohol, and especially for men who seem to feel a need for power and/or feel powerless in their lives.

According to the power hypothesis, a drinker need not take any action at all to feel powerful; the feeling comes merely from the internal experience of domination which alcohol enhances. However, aggressive activity is so closely linked to heavy drinking that this too is taken as further support for the power hypothesis (Boyatzis, 1976). There have been two sets of studies which have addressed this issue: research on the personality profiles of alcoholics

and research on the behavioral effects of alcohol.

Research which has examined the personalities of alcoholics has revealed that while there may be no one overall alcoholic personality, there are certain characteristics that discriminate alcoholics from non-alcoholics. One characteristic which has clearly distinguished alcoholics is interpersonal aggression. Barnes (1979) in his recent, exhaustive review of over 200 studies which used major objective, projective and perceptual assessments of personality traits of alcoholics, concluded that the Pd scale (Psychopathic Deviate) of the MMPI is the measure which has most consistently discriminated alcoholics from normals. At least 12 different MMPI studies have reported eleved Pd scores in alcoholics; these results dovetail with other personality measures (e.g. Jones, 1968; Kalin, 1972; MacAndrew and Garfinkel, 1962; Williams, 1970; Williams et al, 1971; Zucker, 1976) which have found heavy drinkers and alcoholics to be more aggressive, antisocial, and non-conforming.

Research on the aggressive behavioral effects of alcohol has taken two forms: (1) circumstantial evidence relating alcohol intake to violent criminal activity, and (2) direct tests of the impact of alcohol on aggressive behavior. These studies have come to the same conclusion: alcohol increases aggression (for summaries, see Boyatzis, 1974; Carpenter and Armenti, 1972; Noble, 1978). Violent crimes have been found to be associated with alcohol. The Third (Nobel, 1978) and Fourth (DeLuca, 1981) Special Reports to the U.S. Congress on Alcohol and Health cited the following statistics of the percentages of criminal offenders who also abused alcohol: homocides, 86%; assualts, 72%; robbery, 72%; wife battering, 52%; rapes, 50%.

Such statistics verify only that violent ment drink, not that drinking men are violent automatically. However, laboratory studies of the effects of alcohol on verbal aggression and the delivery of electric shocks have suggested that drinking increases aggression. Boyatzis's (1974) study of sober and

intoxicated men who were engaged in a competitive game found an increase in aggressive disagreeing, baiting, and defying. Finnish studies by Takala et al (1957) and Bruun's (1959) showed the same effects. After drinking, acts of disagreement, passive-rejection, and antagonism increased, as did voice intensity. In Tamarin's studies of alcoholics (Tamarin and Mendelson, 1968; Tamarin et al, 1970), intoxicated subjects used more profanity and negativism, and they reported that they felt more aggressive; behavioral measure were not included in the studies.

In several laboratory experiments (Leonard, 1984;Shuntich and Taylor, 1972; Taylor and Gammon, 1975), which measured the administration of electric shocks, subjects who consumed higher doses of alcohol set higher shock levels on their opponents. In sum, drinking appears to increase aggressive responding, both verbal and physical. Power theorists (e.g. Boyatzis, 1976) would say that, for some men, fantasies are not enough; they seek behavioral proof of their dominance through aggression.

Summary

The power theory considered masculinity concerns, in particular, power needs, to be the primary cause of alcohol abuse in men. Men were believed to drink excessively because heavy drinking induces an inner experience of power and domination over others. Men for whom a need for power is strongest (and for whom impulse control is weakest) are the ones most like to drink heavily. Evidence in support of the power theory was derived from studies of internal cognitions as well as external behaviors of drinkers. Under the influence of alcohol, men are more likely to produce fantasies of power and are more apt to act in an aggressive fashion.

The power theory took a different crack at how masculinity is linked to drinking than did the dependency theory. The dependency theory hypothesized

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that alcoholics attempt to disguise an unmasculine wish to be nurtured. The power theory proposed that men seek to rectify unmasculine feelings of powerlessness.

Existing research data are much more congruent with the notion that drinking men seek to attain feelings of power than attempt to hide the gratification of their dependency strivings. Under the influence of alcohol, dependency fantasies, thoughts and concerns show no change whatsoever; by contrast, power fantasies increase noticably (Williams, 1976). Men do not act more dependent after drinking. They do, however, behave more tough, fearless and aggressive.

The power theory is a powerful theory. Yet this theory too has a number of serious drawbacks and flaws which undermine its general validity. McClelland et al (1972a) used two contradictory interpretations of "need for power," measured by the production of domination themes. In sober men, a need for power was equated with feeling powerless. However, when intoxicated men produced an even greater number of domination themes, the explanation is that these men felt powerful.

The theory was also weakened because it relied almost exclusively on changes in subjects' scores on one instrument -- the TAT. It seems a bit premature to consider a theory validated without a number of measures which consistently corrobotate an increased experience of power. Furthermore, as Williams (1976) has commented, the TATs were administered in male settings (e.g., all male fraternity parties and all male barrooms) raising the possibility that more aggressive TAT themes might be experimentally induced in part.

The content analyses of societal folk tales has been claimed as supporting evidence for the power theory by McClelland et al (1972b) , Wanner (1972), and Boyatzis (1976). But their claims were mostly unfounded. Their theory predicted six themes -- "sex," "entering implements," "kill," "violent, physical manipulation," "war," and "anger" -- would be related to heavier

drinking societies. In fact, only the first two of these were significantly positively correlated. The last, "anger" was significantly negatively correlated, a finding which contradicted their hypothesis that men/cultures for whom power and aggression are most salient are the ones who consume the most alcohol. In addition, a number of other themes which were not at all directly connected to the power theory (e.g. "oral body part," "eating") were highly related to drinking. In short, the cross-cultural data was not very compelling.

The theory was also on weaker footing in its presumption that a feeling of powerlessness is the best predictor of heavy drinking. Davis (1972) conducted an in vivo study in which feelings of powerfulness and powerlessness were experimentally manipulated. Contrary to predictions,the powerful subjects drank the most. These findings certainly clouded the power theory, although as discussed later in this paper, they were quite consistent with other features of male alcoholics.

The theory might have been more well grounded if it did not take such a narrow view of "power." To McClelland et al (1972), virtually the only aspect of masculinity was personalized power/domination. At times it seemed that they were aware that masculinity has a wider context. For example, McClelland's (1972) thesis summary stated that "Societies which drink heavily are hard on their children and on their adults. They push them toward independence, achievement and manliness from infancy on, so that in time they become obsessed with "manly" virtures (p. 284)"... "One likely outcome would be that the son would have doubts about his worth as a male (original italics)...our interpretation of all these findings is that the central concern for the pre-alcoholic boy lies in the area of male self-esteem." (pp. 287-288)..."We too are saying that these males...have real doubts about their efficacy as males." (p. 290). Yet far too often, the theory returned to a single-minded

notion of masculinity: concern for personalized power. This overly restrictive definition aided in maintaining greater empirical purity, but missed the more comprehensive concept of masculinity.

REFORMULATION

In each of the three theories of alcoholism, masculinity issues were viewed as fundamental to the abuse of alcohol. In none of the theories, however, was "masculinity" per se the organizing concept. It is the intention of this section to weave together and reformulate the three theories into one overarching theory whose basic proposition is that a major reason that men drink excessively is to bolster a faulty sense of their masculinity.

The sex role theory is the back drop for the masculinity theory, like it is for the dependency and power theories as well. It illustrates the social equation of masculinity with drinking. Yet, the theory never speculated for which men might the equation be most salient. The proposition of this paper is that it is men without a solid male identity who turn to alcohol in order to bolster their sense of masculinity.

Of course, there are many other ways besides drinking in which men demonstrate their masculinity. Engaging in contact sports or being aggressive are two examples. Drinking is a lot easier, a lot less effort, and accordingly, a lot more common. And alcohol is the only mood altering drug which society overtly condones, promotes, markets, etc. for attaining a sense of manliness. As a result, it is much more likely to be used than other drugs.

The dependency theory early on recognized the presence of masculinity concerns in alcoholics, but instead emphasized a deep dependency conflict as the key factor in their drinking. Yet, it we probe the thinking behind the theoretical argument, the reason that underlying dependency needs were presumed to create a conflict in male alcoholics was because such needs are considered to be

unmasculine. Essentially, it is covert feelings of unmanliness, brought on by dependency needs and by poor identification with their fathers, that the theory described in men who drink alcoholically. By drinking and by acting hypermasculine, actions which are viewed as manly and alleviate uncertainties about one's masculinity, an improved male self-image could be attained.

The power theory can be reformulated easily into a masculinity perspective. In emphasizing men's need to feel powerful, the theory focused right at the core of masculinity. Men who feel dominated or who do not feel strong have difficulty experiencing themselves as an adequate male.

While the power theorists framed their findings within a power interpretation, a masculinity interpretation seems even more apt. The variables studied, though labelled as "power", included a broad array of issues which might more suitably be termed male identity issues. In addition to the vanquishing of other men, sexual interactions with women, anger, competition, and authority were also examined. That these issues might be construed as masculine, not just power, was hinted at by McClelland et al (1972a) when they admitted "our subjective definition of power...it is essentially masculine striving." (Wanner, 1972, p. 84).

The power theory's hypothesis that alcohol remedies a sense of impotence can be restated that it bolsters one's experience of masculinity. Wallgren and Barry's (1970) review of studies in which intoxicated subjects estimated their coordination performance also supported this expanded proposition. Drunk men significantly overestimated their performance abilities. Apparently heavy drinking fills a man up with more than just alcohol, his sense of himself swells too.

In sum, the existing theories, concepts, and empirical findings can be reframed to suggest that masculinity issues lay at the heart of male alcohol abuse. Alcohol casts an external appearance and creates an internal sensation of masculinity. Our culture encourages men to use this method to feel manly. Hence, for a boy/man without a secure sense of his own masculinity, alcohol would be an attractive, compensatory solution.

This masculinity proposition can be refined further, and to do so, we take a developmental perspective. Alcohol abuse can be thought of as occurring in men who are unable to resolve the adolescent developmental task of forming a (male) identity. Men drink to feel more masculine, but without alcohol they fail to achieve such an experience of themselves. They become arrested, unable to acquire a solid adolescent maleness and cease further development into adult manhood. In order to more fully explain this point, we first need to elaborate how masculinity is formed across developmental stages.

A male's sense of his masculinity is an interplay between sociocultural gender expectations and psychological-developmental experiences. Masculine feelings are based upon more than just what society defines as male (although obviously this is a crucial factor). Prior history with parents and peers as well as what current developmental issues one is faced with also influence how one experiences one's masculinity.

With the possible exception of the first two years of life when awareness of one's gender has not yet occurred, boys pass through a life long series of stages of masculine development. This developmental framework of masculinity is a derivative of Erikson's (1950, 1968) theory of stages of personality

development. Since the foundation of identity is one's gender, developmental states can be understood as two parallel tracts, one for males and another for females.

Each stage has certain developmental tasks which, depending on how they are enacted and resolved, contribute to one's sense of masculinity.[5] For instance, the earliest stage of masculine development occurs at age two (Dinnerstein, 1976; Rochlin, 1980). An infant boy comes to define himself, i.e. his maleness, in terms of his separateness from his mother, who heretofor was his primary object of identification. An infant girl goes through a vastly different process, for while individuating, she continues to identify with her mother. Blurred boundaries with her mother do not threaten a girl's identity; it sometimes even embellishes her sense of it. But for a boy, the establishment of masculinity comes from a process of being distinct and separate from his mother. The formation of a male identity through separation shapes the establishment of masculinity for the rest of male's life, in particular the aversion to feminine aspects of self and the avoidance of intimate feelings (Dinnerstein, 1976).

In adolescence, the formation of a masculine identity — becoming and being "a man" -- is the principle developmental task. To do so hinges on cleaving oneself from one's parents and authorities, and exhibiting personal strength. Passivity connotes unmasculine surrender, and is defended against through defiance, aggression and hostility. Masculinity is also experienced when banding together with other boys, an action which enlarges one's individual sense of prowess (Rochlin, 1980).

Adolescent males reject feminization for the same reason. Because one's most

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basic gender identity is formed by separating from mother, being woman-like creates fear, for it undermines one's male identity. In adolescence, when being a man is crucial, boys avoid being seen by others, and by themselves, as anything that smacks of femininity, i.e. submission, dependence or weakness (O'Neil, 1982).

In the press to discover and solidify one's masculine identity, adolescents rely heavily upon the cultural male sex role as the measure of a man. Enacting the male role is the primary means of affirmining one's masculinity. However, it is not the entire male sex role that adolescents aspire to emulate. Certain male characteristics convey an adolescent-type masculinity, while others exemplify adult manhood. Masculinity in young men is synonomous with rebellion, strength, and no sissy stuff, i.e. defiant, testing limits, aggressive, violent, daring, strong, muscular, tough, not subordinate, counter-dependent, not submissive, non-emotional, not dependent, not weak, and non-expressive. In adult men, what was less salient in youth becomes forefront. Here masculinity is more synomous with being a pillar and a leader, i.e. husbandly, fatherly, a provider and protector, responsible, responsive, a decision maker, ambitious, productive and successful.[6]

The culture provides the rules and roles for masculine behavior, and adolescents in particular attempt to act the part. But for some, an outward manifestation belies an inner experience. For them, internal doubts about adequacy persist and are defended against and compensated for by external displays of masculinity.

Given this context, alcohol abuse can be viewed as strongly bearing upon the establishment of masculine identity. Alcoholics can be said to fixate in

adolescence, in part because they never achieve a successful adolescent masculine identity without the crutch of alcohol and in part because they shun becoming adults.

The available data on male drinking is extremely consistent with this developmental framework. To begin with, it is no coincidence that early manifestations of alcohol abuse occur in adolescence. Alcoholism does not exist in childhood, and only rarely does it originate in men at advanced ages (Cohen, 1981; Lisansky, 1960; Wilsnack, 1982). First drinking commences toward the beginning of adolescence, and for men whose drinking becomes abusive, it usually happens well before age 30 (Cahalan, 1976; Rimmer et al, 1971, 1972).

During adolescence, much of how boys affirm their masculine identity revolves around drinking. First drinking is a rite of passage into manhood. Ensuing drinking typically occurs with other boys away from home, associated with doing something male. Those institutions whose membership is primarily young males -- gangs, and later the military and fraternities --have rates of alcohol consumption well above average (Carmen, 1971). In short, for circumstances and situations where adolescents validate their masculinity, heavy drinking is usually part of the process.

Those adolescents who are the heaviest drinkers tend to be the ones most likely to manifest other adolescent masculine qualities, especially rebellion. Boys who drink the most problematically are those who show the highest rejection of social obligations (Wilsnack & Wilsnack, 1978, 1980). Heavy drinking adolescents tend to be the most aggressive and antisocial (Kalin, 1972b; Williams, 1976). They also show the greatest need to match the quantity of alcohol consumed by other male drinkers (Lied & Marlatt, 1979).

That abusive drinking is attempted in order to enhance a sense of male adequacy is also suggested by the literature on self-esteem. Heavy drinking youths (and older males too) tend to have low self-concepts, (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Barnes, 1979; Berg, 1971; Button, 1956a; Conner, 1962; Gross & Adler, 1970; Peele & Brodsky, 1975; Piotrowski, 1958; Schilder, 1941; Vanderpool, 1969; Williams, 1970). Furthermore, there is some indication that when intoxicated, their regard for themselves improves considerably (Berg, 1971; MacAndrew & Garfinkel, 1962).

A recent study of Vietnam soldiers was also consistent with this point. McKinnon (1983) noted that of the servicemen who fought in Vietnam, volunteers fared more poorly after the war than did draftees. He hypothesized that many 18 year olds who volunteered for service were hoping that by "John Wayning" it in warfare they would crystallize an inner sense of their masculinity. What was so devastating about the Vietnam War for these boys was that they came out of it labelled by others, and often themselves, as "anti-heros", "baby-killers," "losers," " and "cowards." Consequently, post-war alcohol abuse, whose rates ran significantly higher than for the average population, could be partially understood in terms of shattered masculine identities.

Drinking is a normal activity of adolescence, and all boys who drink to help bolster their feeling masculine do not become alcohol abusers. I believe, though, that many boys, especially those whose sense of masculine identity is most insecure, come to rely on alcohol as a quick fix. Alcohol is used to attain a temporary feeling of a solid male identity, and without alcohol, that feeling is missing. As such, alcohol abuse becomes a self-defeating vicious cycle. An arrest occurs at this stage of development while these

boys/men get stuck in an illusive quest for a sense of male adequacy

The hypothesis that these boys lack an assured sense of their masculinity does not presume a single cause for those feelings. Numerous underlying social and familial factors are involved in male identity development. Reviews of the liteature on masculine development have confirmed that paternal presence, warmth, and self-esteem; maternal dominance; parental rejection; the influcence of surrogate male models; societal sex-role pressures, among other factors, all have been shown to shape a boy's masculinity (Biller and Borstelmann, 1967; Pleck, 1981). It is not derived from one ~~more~~ etiological family pattern. Hence, adolescent boys may be struggling intensely with their masculinity for any number of reasons. For some boys, trauma which occurs during adolescence (e.g. the Vietnam War) may be a sufficient enough destabilizing cause; predisposing early events need not be presumed. It is the presence of masculinity concerns, regardless of cause, that can be considered to underly male drinking.[7]

A developmental fixation occurs for another reason as well. Alcoholics cannot, and they also will not, move on to subsequent developmental challenges of adult maleness. In the stages of psychosocial development, identity formation is followed by the establishment of intimacy and generativity (Erikson, 1950). Developmentally they represent a higher order since they require an ability to be responsible for and responsive to others. Whereas in adolescence, a boy defines his masculinity in his distance from others, i.e. not being dominated or subordinated, adult masculinity contains a closeness when providing for or being mutual with others. To tolerate such proximity, a man necessarily must feel confident that in being vulnerable his manhood will not be threatened.

Such proximity often scares men because of early masculine identity development. During individuation, masculine identity is established by transferring identification from mother to father. Later, experiencing fusing feelings of love (especially toward females) can undermine one's sense of masculinity, for it recapitulates the subordination to mother. Hence, it requires a firm assurance in one's masculinity to tolerate the vulnerability inherent in intimacy.

Alcoholic men's struggles with their masculinity interfere with their progressing developmentally. At the threshhold of adulthood, they sometimes are unable and unwilling to assume the tasks and responsibilities of growing up, or surrendering childish power for adult obligation.[8,9]

The reluctance of alcohol abusers to assume adult, responsible relationships with others was graphically illustrated in an experiment by Davis (1972). Male subjects (mostly moderate and heavy drinkers) participated in the Blind Man Game, played in pairs, in which one member of the pair was blindfolded and the other member guided the blindfoldee through city streets for fifteen minutes. Then the blindfolds were removed, the game was ended, and the subjects were allowed an hour and half of free time to drink. The authors originally had hypothesized (in accord with their power theory) that the powerless blindfoldees would subsequently drink the most; in fact, the reverse was true. Despite the fact that the guides confirmed that they had felt "powerful" in their role as guides, they drank the most, leading the authors to realize that probably they drank more "to forget about exercising instrumental power and the feelings of concomitant responsibility" (p. 211).

While alcoholics often appear gregarious and extroverted, it is adolescent, not

adult relatedness.[10] They shun opportunities which require commitment to, responsibility for, or mutuality with others. Jones (1965) and Kalin (1972b) reported correlations between drinking and the inability to establish social commitments. Williams (1970) and Vanderpool (1969) found a correlation between problem drinking and lower interest in others, less attention to their feelings and wishes, and less seeking of personal friendships. MacAndrew and Garfinkel's (1962) alcoholic subjects described themselves as retreating from responsibilities and commitments when drunk. Wilsnack and Wilsnack's (1978) "denial of social obligations" category, which was the category which showed the highest correlation with problem drinking, was composed of the sum of three items that subjects said that they did not want to be: (1) generous (2) reasonable or (3) helpful to others. In effect they did not want to take care of others or have anyone else having a hold over them.

Alcoholic men do have relationships, but these tend to be at arms length. "Drinking with the guys" is the perfect expression of such -- uncommitted comraderie with other men who want the same. (This characteristic has not been lost on beer advertisers who as previously mentioned rely upon this one scene for the majority of their commercials. By contrast, you virtually never see a beer drinking man relating closely with his wife.) While some writers (e.g. Barry, 1974) focus on the comraderie as an expression of covert dependency, the key factor is more likely the distancing quality of relating. Drinking with the guys is a social activity that guarantees that interpersonal distance will be maintained. And even then, alcohol is a necessary social lubricant.

There's an expression in the alcohol field that "when you have to drink to be social, it's not social drinking." A study by Higgins and Marlatt (1975) affirmed that alcohol abusers rely on alcohol in order to relate comfortably

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with others. Heavy drinking college students served as subjects in a wine tasting experiment in which half of the subjects thought that their interpersonal appeal was being evaluated by a group of girls behind a screen, and that they would subsequently be interacting with these girls. The other half were not led to believe that any evaluation or interaction would be taking place. The subjects in the interaction/evaluation condition consumed almost twice as much as did the control subjects. The experiment did not tease apart the impact of perceived evaluation from anticipated interaction; nonetheless it suggested that heavy drinkers imbibe when called upon to be social.

The heaviet drinkers, though, tend to isolate themselves from most relations. Mowrer and Mowrer (1945) found that alcoholics were more likely than non-alcoholics to have few or no friends. Hassell's (1968) alcoholic subjects were much more likely than were controls to spend time alone. And Glynn et al (1983) reported that solitary settings produced the largest amounts of drinking.

The demands of marriage present obvious problems to men who seek relationships with few strings. It's one reason that alcoholics are more likely to be divorced, separated or never married than the American norm (Barry, 1974; Cahalan et al, 1969: Clark & Midanik, 1982; Glynn et al, 1983; Gomberg, 1968; Lisansky, 1957; Mulford, 1977; Parker et al, 1980; Rimmer, 1971; Singer et al, 1964; Straus & Bacon, 1951, Volicer et al, 1981). Inside the marriages that they do have, alcoholics attempt to position themselves so as to not have to take care of or be close to their wives. Having affairs, staying out late at night, and being unavailable at home are not uncommon. Recall too the study by Clark (1964) which found that the majority of married men who ever go to bars do so without their wives as companions.

Sexual intimacy (with mutual give and take), not just conquest (take only), is a quality of deeper, adult relations, and alcohol abusing men tend not to establish such intimacy. Zwerling and Rosenbaum (1959) and Levine (1955) reported infrequent sexual intercourse in their samples of alcoholics. Akhtar (1977) and Vanderpool (1969) found lower sexual desire in the alcoholics that they studied. Some of this diminished libido may be caused by the decrease in serum testosterone which accompanies large amounts of alcohol intake (Dudek & Turner, 1982). However, most of it is likely a result of withdrawal from close, fusing contact which threatens men whose identity is not solidified. Half a century ago, Rado (1933) proposed that the physically pleasing effects of alcohol are used to substitute for genital orgasm, and people are no longer needed for pleasure. Abraham (1927) and Zwerling (1959) echoed this idea as well. Bales (1962) recounted Irish songs in which drinking was sanctioned as a replacement for sex with or pursuit of a mate.

The withdrawal from interpersonal (not only sexual) relatedness was a key factor in the power and dependency formulations of alcoholism reviewed earlier. The power theory stated that alcoholics seek an internal feeling of potency through heavy drinking without having to interact at all with others. One's needs are gratified by alcohol, not interpersonal contact. (The actual "power" attained in real life by these men is in the forms that establish or maintain distance. Defiance and aggression keep others at bay.) The dependency theory also viewed alcoholics' covert needs being satisfied by the bottle. Dependency needs are met by a warm, glowing feeling brought about by alcohol, and not through relationships which nurture.

In closing this section, we introduce a curious piece of data about drinking in

older populations which adds further support to the masculinity model of alcoholism. Heavy drinking rates peak between 50-55 and continue to decline after that (Cahalan, 1976; Cahalan et al, 1969; Clark & Midanik, 1982; Glynn et al, 1983; Knupfer & Room, 1964; Liban & Smart, 1980; Mulford & Miller, 1963; Room, 1972). Culturally, and interpersonally, the demand for men to be generative, virile, and responsible for others wanes with age. With the diminution of expectations to be the male provider, compensatory drinking decreases.

TREATMENT AND OTHER IMPLICATIONS

Once we identify masculinity as a crucial factor in the etiology of alcohol abuse, then it follows that treatment necessarily must take into account this issue. A complete consideration of how alcohol treatment and prevention could address masculine concerns is beyond the intended scope of this paper; nonetheless a brief discussion is in order.

Confronting issues of masculinity in alcoholics is no easy task. Just to get someone whose drinking is out of control to admit so is extremely difficult, in large part because alcohol dependence is perceived to connote weakness and femininity. Abraham (1927) early on observed that since alcohol is used as a surrogate for masculinity, the defensive denial common to alcoholics is really a defense on one's manhood.

In attempting to stop drinking, alcoholics encounter a number of negative self-perceptions: They worry that they are inferior to other drinkers who mastered and controlled their drinking; that not being able to "hold one's liquor" means being less of a man; that quitting drinking in defeat is an admission of failure[11] They also must contend with being labelled an "alcoholic," found in surveys (Stafford & Petway, 1977) to be greatly stigmatized in our culture. In sum, to admit to one's own alcoholism is to face one's feeling of inadequacy as a man.

To seek professional assistance is a similar threat. Looking at oneself, including one's weaknesses, showing emotions, and asking for help are all frightening to men who desire to act and feel more manly.

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The resistance to taking Antabuse[R] also stems largely from masculinity concerns. Many men complain of the "crutch" (i.e., dependence and femininity) aspect of Antabuse[R]. They fear that on top of the diminished masculinity suffered when they lost the ability to control their drinking, additional diminution will result from not personally controlling their sobriety.

Men seeking alcohol treatment often try to bargain for a way to continue drinking so as to avoid facing the unmasculine experience that they have of themselves sober. Yet successful treatment required abstinence; sustained drinking prohibits the possibility of building a positive male identity from within.

Because these men are developmentally fixated in adolescence, the task of therapy is to first help consolidate an integrated male identity before proceeding to more adult concerns. It is important for patients to explore the aspects of themselves that they regard as weak or unmanly. Many patients have difficulty accepting that they feel or do certain things that they regard as feminine, e.g. feel sad, lose control or willingly submit. Treatment needs to help patients reown these parts of themselves. It is inevitable in this process that patients' notions about what it is to "be a man" is altered, so that they can be vulnerable and still perceive themselves as a man. Group therapy can have a dramatic impact in this respect, for a group creates its own subcultural norms of masculinity. When a group of peers (or a therapist) respond positively to an expression of vulnerability, patients are more able to accept and integrate, rather than split off or deny, those parts of themselves[12].

Yet feeling positive about one's manliness does not come merely from

integrating one's feminine side, as Ely (1982) has forcefully argued. One's masculine side must be established as well. Comfort with assertion and authority, achievement in the occupational sphere, and other forms of personal effectence are needed to substitute for alcohol-induced feelings of manliness.

Since there is also a concomitant reluctance to grow up, the course of treatment later will need to address the superficiality of relationships and the refusal to yield up childlike positions. Many times we see patients successfully stop drinking and initially feel better about themselves but make no movement toward intimacy, mutuality or other aspects of adult manhood. The patients' guardedness towards the therapist, fellow patients, and others in their lives requires considerable attention.

Working with male alcoholics' affect is a crucial element in their treatment. As noted above, the expression of emotions is generally avoided by most men. Allowing oneself to feel out of control, which occurs when one lets go to emotions, is threatening. However, it is not just the out of controlness or the pain of (re)experiencing feelings that leads alcoholics to deny affect. Often what is avoided is the resolution of some internal conflict that remains incomplete as long as the patient is holding on to unfinished feelings. To complete a feeling, e.g. going through a mourning, would allow one to let go and move on more readily.

Speaking preventively, the most effective intervention we can make with the epidemic of male problem drinking is to begin to alter the sociocultural equation of drinking as masculine. As long as heavy drinking symbolizes virility, and is accepted as a primary means of achieving masculine adequacy, men will continue to abuse alcohol. The culture needs to change its attitudes

about drinking so that heavy drinking comes to be regarded as unmanly.

FOOTNOTES:

[1]Burns (1980) and McClelland (1972) believe that in the absence of other clearly marked rituals for boys to be initiated as men in our culture, drinking has assumed that function.

[2]There is some speculation that because owning, driving, and racing cars are all regarded as masculine, as is drinking, that drunk driving became as overwhelming a problem as it did in our society. Senator Clairborne Pell (1982) commented that historically, the difficulty in altering drunk driving to a bigger criminal offense was because drunk driving was condoned as part of the American 'macho image'. Not coincidentally, the impetus for recent toughening of drunk driving laws has come from women. And from a different perspective, Farrell (1975) has wondered whether eliminating the need for men to demonstrate their masculinity by driving intoxicated would be more likely to improve highway safety than would instituting Nader air bags.

[3]The strength that social sanctions have in influencing patterns of male and female drinking is also demonstrated by differences across cultures in their drinking sex-ratios. In only 60 percent of the "tribal" societies, men drink more than women, while in virtually every Western society men drink more heavily and problematically than women (Bacon, 1976; Leland, 1982a). The differences in rates of drinking are thought to stem from variations in how strongly cultures exert social control over men's and women's intoxication (Barry, 1968).

[4]To say that advertisements transmit a cultural image is only half the picture.

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The media is both a reflection of existing cultural norms as well as a transmittor and reinforcer of those norms. Norms shape the images depicted in the media as much as the media shapes societal norms.

[5]Discriminating different masculinity issues among the various developmental stages is not how sex roles typically have been discussed. The male sex role literature (e.g. Cicone & Ruble, 1978; David & Brannon, 1976; Doyle, 1983; Farrell, 1975) usually has attended more to the distinctions between the male and female roles than to the differences among phases in men's development. Yet, while there is some degree of continuity in what it is to be "male" at different ages, exactly what is most masculine at each stage tends to vary.

[6]Pleck (1981) has drawn up an almost identical list of two kinds of masculinity, but he considers the differentiation as "traditional" verses "modern," which in my viewpoint mistakenly mislabels the critical developmental dimension.

[7]Similarly, the concept of masculine inadequacy transcends (to a degree) specific characterological problems. Masculine identity conflicts can occur among any of the personality disorders.

[8]This concept of a reluctance to allow development into adult maleness has been discussed in the general psychiatric literature. Yalom, in his book Existential Psychotherapy (1980), stressed how frightening it is to "be one's own father," by which he referred to adults giving up the fantasy that their parents or anyone else will rescue them and take care of them. Kopp (1969) also emphasized this point. He described patients' "refusal to mourn" the parenting that they never had as a reluctance to give up the expectation of obtaining it

eventually. In alcoholics, these issues are often evident.

[9]The "self destructiveness" of alcoholics which has been identified by Menniger (1938) and others can be conceptualized in part as an (unconscious) unwillingness to move toward self-constructiveness. Alcoholic drinking guarantees that a person will not move forward.

[10]There is a fascinating paradox attached to drinking and the two masculine roles. All states hold the purchase and consumption of alcohol use to be a privilege granted to individuals at least 18-21 years old. Legally, as well as symbolically, alcohol use represents the arrival of adulthood. Yet, the masculinity of heavy alcohol use is adolescent macho. Intoxicated adults are thought of as irresponsible kids, and, as Stafford and Petway's (1977) study revealed, the public image of alcoholics is that they are less manly.

[11]One of the appeals to labeling alcoholism as an "illness" is to aid alcoholics not feel this sense of failure.

[12]Alcoholics Anonymous is structured to minimize threats to masculinity. For example Weijl (1944) observed that in AA the "inferiority feelings of the alcoholic verses the abstainer, leader, father, whom he must promise to obey, is replaced by the brotherly help of other alcoholics" (p. 211).

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